2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

privileged to take the infant if its mother did not care to keep it. No attempt was made to keep the child in ignorance of its real parentage. "There were too many old women who were fond of gossiping to make concealment possible." (Burke) The child was granted the right to return to its true mother if it so desired. Married couples who were childless sometimes adopted children from a large family among their relatives.

If an infant urinated too frequently it was made to urinate on a piece of granitic schist which had been heated over the fire. This treatment was usually successful, but if not, gopher manure was rubbed on the buttocks and the abdomen. Another alternative was to clean and cook a mouse and feed it to the child if it were old enough to eat. Still another method was to break open a puff-ball and rub it on the buttocks. A baby's excrement was always deposited in the same place, a hole in the ground. If this were not done the child would become mischievous and later refuse to obey. Diapers were pieces of buckskin. They were washed and used repeatedly. Sometimes they were lined with grass.

Illnesses in very young infants were usually attributed to the breaking of a tabu by one of the parents. In cases of serious illness a shaman might be called to discover the cause. The child was said to have been "brought to life" when the specific manner in which the parent had erred was ascertained. Minor illnesses such as colic and colds were treated by decoctions of herbs. Some of these medicines were used only for children, others were the same as those given adults, but weaker.[1] In giving medicine to a baby a three or four inch section of grass with a hollow stem, such as scouring rush, was used. The tube was dipped into the medicine, the upper end squeezed shut, then removed and placed in the infant's mouth and opened. For sore eyes or plugged nostrils the mother squeezed some of her milk into the ailing part.

Great care was taken not to lose the navel cord when it parted from the child's body. "It is part of a person and shouldn't be lost." (Burke) It was kept on the cradle until the latter was discarded, whereupon it was removed and buried or thrown away somewhere in the hills. Loss prior to that time would result in ill-fortune to the child.

No unusual treatment was accorded twins.

THE CRADLE BOARD

As soon as possible after the birth of a child the mother made a cradle board for the infant. This was not normally done before the child's appearance. Occasionally some male relative of the mother relieved her of this task. During the interim the baby was simply wrapped in a skin, preferably a finely tanned fawn skin. Or the bag in which the baby was to be kept at night was made and used exclusively until the cradle board was completed. Sometimes this garment was made before the baby's birth. The age of transference to the cradle board varied from ten days to a month.

[1] See pages 215 f.

The cradle bag or night bag (kłu'ɣtsa) was made in two forms. The first was fashioned from two pieces of buckskin, one ovoid forming the back, the other a narrow band equal in length to the perimeter of the back. The ends of the band were sewed together and one edge of it sewed to the periphery of the ovoid piece, with the seam at the bottom (narrow end). Thin strips of buckskin were used for sewing. Loops were provided along the lower portions of each free side of the front piece so that a buckskin thong could be passed alternately through them to draw the bag together. The other bag was made of a single piece of buckskin roughly triangular in form. It resembled somewhat a center seam moccasin, except that the actual seam extended for only a short distance and the remainder was looped for lacing. The top was left open. Neither bag was provided with carrying straps. Skin other than that of the deer was sometimes used for these bags, such as coyote skin. The child was kept in the bag at night until about a year of age.

The cradle board (moɣwa'l') (Plate 1, Figure B) was the same for either a girl or a boy. It was used until the child was able to walk. Subsequent to that time it was used only while travelling or when the child wished to sleep in the daytime. During the early months of life the infant was removed from the cradle only to be bathed, changed, and at night. Except in rare instances a board was used for only one child. When no longer in use it was usually buried. If an infant died while still using its cradle it was sometimes, though not always, buried with it.

Cradle boards were usually made of cedar. Poorer ones were of pine. The body of the board was sometimes trapezoidal with the longer parallel side at the top, but more often roughly oval with the narrower part at the bottom. A knob or handle usually projected from the middle of the board at the top, and sometimes two legs from the bottom. The handle was carved in various shapes, but most commonly was triangular or circular. In some cradles there was no projecting handle but an oblong hole in the top of the board. Sometimes the whole board was covered with buckskin but often only the bag was of that material. Holes were bored to take the stay strings of the hoop and for attaching the bag. A large hoop of willow or service berry limb was hinged with buckskin to each side of the board at a point where it would rise above the baby's head. Two buckskin thongs extending from the hoop to the foot and to the handle of the board held the hoop in position. These could be untied at the foot and the hoop lowered when the child was to be removed. Buckskin carrying straps were fastened to the back of the board. The bag or pouch was always made of buckskin. It was not a true bag in that its back was formed by the board itself. A long narrow rectangular strip of buckskin was sewed together at the ends and fastened to the board by placing it on edge in the shape desired and securing it to the board through the holes previously drilled. Sometimes the pouch was made double thickness. Holes were pierced along the edge of the opening and a strip of buckskin inserted to provide loops so that the bag might be laced tight. A triangular wooden piece was fitted inside the bag at the head, with the base at right angles to the board. It was fastened here with two thongs through holes in the board and one or two extending from the apex to the head of the board. It was more or less adjustable

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 **Southeast Salish Sanpoil**

but it was not designed to produce flattening. Its sole purpose was to hold the head of the bag open. 304 854

The bag was carefully padded with grass or fur before the child was placed in it. Especial care was taken to pad carefully around the head and between the legs. Grasses which emitted a fragrant odor (kali's, snuknuktkin, found on the river bank) were used if obtainable. Woven cradle bedding of Indian hemp was also used. This was easy to wash and dry. Sometimes the child was dressed in miniature garments patterned like those of an adult before placing in the cradle. During cold weather the infant's head was wrapped with a piece of fur or buckskin to protect it. The hoop on the cradle served the double purpose of protecting the child in case of a fall, and holding away from the baby's face any robe laid over the cradle to keep off the sun or to supply warmth. A boy's penis was allowed to project through the lacing of the bag. A small flap of buckskin extended from between a girl's legs to outside the bag. Conduits were never used. 854

Another form of cradle less extensively used substituted for the board an elliptical frame like that of a snowshoe, within which was woven Indian hemp cord with a quarter inch mesh. The baby was wrapped in coyote fur and bound to the center of the cradle with thongs passing around the child and through the openings in the weaving. It is not certain that this cradle was supplied with a hoop. Cradles of tule are mentioned in the mythology but were not known to my informants.

As stated previously the bag containing the child's umbilical cord and its skunk tail paint brush were always attached to the cradle. In addition many other pendants were added both for decoration and for amusing the child. The skunk tail usually had suspended from it two buckskin cords each carrying several river shells. Other shells hanging from cords were fastened to the shoulders of the cradle bag. Three or four strings holding several shells each were bunched together so that they would rattle when the cradle was shaken. Shells were also attached to the hoop of the cradle, all along its length. Each was suspended by a single short string. The hoop stay strings served, too, as places of attachment. Oblong pieces of shell with holes drilled in each end were sewed to the bag at various places with the inside of the [illegible] exposed. Sometimes other shapes, such as arrow heads, were made. A father who was a successful deer hunter might hang deer dew claws on his child's cradle. In addition to the rattles placed on the cradle wristlets of shells which rattled were worn by the baby. On the right was hung a large shell on a long cord for the child to suck. 524 854

The handle of the cradle was used in picking it up and moving it from place to place. Also, when the child was fretful the cradle was rocked with the handle, pivoting the base on the ground, or the cradle was bounced on the ground. In travelling the mother carried the cradle on her back by means of a tumpline. 854

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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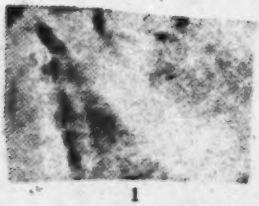
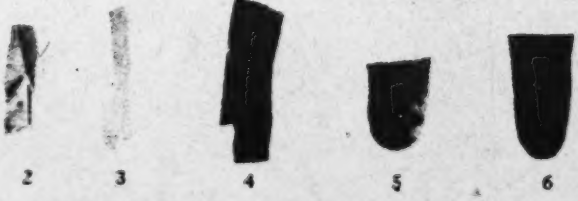
B



1

C



2 3 4 5 6

PLATE I. (A) Spokane man's shirt of buckskin. (B) Cradle. (C) Moccasin and pattern: (1) main body, (2, 3) inserts, (4) ankle flap, (5) inner tongue, (6) outer tongue. (Washington State Museum; A, 2-11783; B, 2-158, C, 2-159).

304 [791] cheek. There was no sex difference. A shaman capable of drawing blood from wounds might tattoo a line of dots from each corner of his mouth to his chin. Otherwise it is not clear whether the designs had any connection with the power animal or other significance. [681] (Mary Carden had never hear of tattooing a person because he was a murderer or thief, as Suszon reported.)

CRADLES

854 The cradles of the Southern Okanagon were of the flat board type, fashioned of a single broad piece of wood, common to all the southern Plateau tribes. Two cradles were used for each infant: that used while it was very young was hardly more than a pouch with a board inside to stiffen it; the other, a much larger cradle, used when the baby was three months old, was a pouch fastened to the front of a large board.

Three forms of this second cradle were in use, but were not of equal antiquity. The form which is certainly oldest was trapezoidal or keystone-like in shape and had an extension at the top to serve as a handle. A pouch to hold the infant was usually, but apparently not always, attached to its face. This pouch fell far short of reaching the edges of the board. A second type had a pouch similarly arranged, but the board was oval. In neither of these types was the board wholly covered with skin. In the third type an oval board was entirely encased in skin; this casing itself served as the pouch. This third type is clearly of more recent introduction than the first. It was said to have been made in imitation of the Nez Perce now resident on the reservation. There is some question with regard to the age of the second type, but it probably resolves itself into the attached pouch being ancient, the oval board modern. This type was said to have been derived from the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem.

171 854

Lucy Joe stated that the skin-encased oval cradle was copied from the Nez Percé, while the trapezoidal form was old. Both were in use when she was a little girl (1860-70), but the trapezoidal form predominated. According to Mary Carden, too, the third type, oval and skin-encased, was learned from the Nez Percé. She also stated that a specimen of the second type, oval with attached pouch (illustrated in Figure 17, c,d), made seventeen years ago, was in imitation of the Moses-Columbia at Nespelem. Cecile alone said that the covered oval board (type three) was older than the trapezoidal (type one), but either she was mistaken or we misunderstood her. Both were in use when she, a Kalispel, joined the Southern Okanagon about 1890 (?).

The Kalispel used only the encased oval cradle according to Cecile. Margaret Felix

171 854 said that the Inkamip band of the Northern Okanagon used the second type (an oval board with square-cut bottom and with attached pouch). She was using this type for a very young infant for her own six-months old baby and affirmed she had invented it herself!

Cradles made of bark were not used by the Southern Okanagon, but were known as in use by the Thompson. However, bark cradles of some sort were made locally by little girls for their dolls.

854 462 The labor of constructing a cradle was apportioned between the sexes: men prepared the wooden board from a dry pine, women made the skin pouch and other parts and put the whole together.

854 [843] 181 The baby's first cradle was prepared before the child was born. This was a buckskin sack within which a board was placed for stiffening (Figure 18)."[1] This wooden board (an inch thick) was oval with rather straight sides. Four holes were bored in it (a wedge was used as a boring tool), one pair near the top and the other at the bottom, but all four near the edge of the board (Figure 17, a, 1). The buckskin intended for the pouch was cut as in Figure 17, a, 2, with slits at the top and bottom reaching nearly to the board. The two upper extensions of this skin were then lapped and sewn, and the two lower ones likewise, thus forming a pouch. This was fastened to the board, which was placed inside it, by a thong passing through the upper set of holes and another through the lower set. These thongs thus passed outside the buckskin at the back of the cradle and were knotted on the inner face of the board.

854 The mattress (.nkEkɛ·ɛ'kEtEn, "pad for the back") was a buckskin sack exactly the size of the board, stuffed with feathers. Two smaller sacks were made to serve as pillows; one under the head at the very top of the board, the other (under the knees ?) where the lower set of holes was placed. Buckskin thongs ran through each of these pillows, through the mattress beneath, and passed under the thongs which held the pouch to the board. As the thongs were soft skin strips, the knots caused no annoyance to the baby. Loops of buckskin were fashioned of a single thong along the opposing edges of the opening of the pouch. The lacing thong was then passed through these. It would seem that these cradles were hardly larger than the baby so that the pouch fitted snugly.

The older type of child's second cradle was an elongated trapezoid. Like all second cradles it was almost twice as long as the first cradle just described. An extension of the board at the middle of its upper edge, some three inches long and also of trapezoidal shape, served as a handle. Ordinarily, it was reported, the corners of these trapezoids

[1] [For footnote, see p. 50 (C), category 116. -- Analyst]

•854 [1] [For context of this footnote, see p. 50(B), category 116. -- Analyst]

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17 Specimens in Washington State Museum: Figure 18, No. 2-222; Figure 20, No. 2-263. [1]

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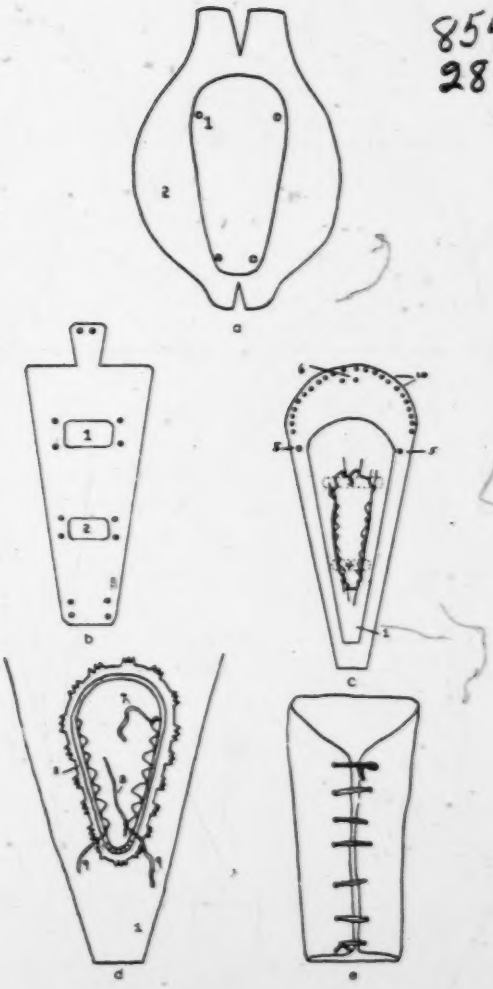

Fig. 17. Cradle types and patterns (a, infant's first cradle; b, old trapezoidal type; c, recent oval type with pouch; d, detail of the pouch shown in c; e, sack for use at night).

Fig. 18. Infant's first cradle (from a model).

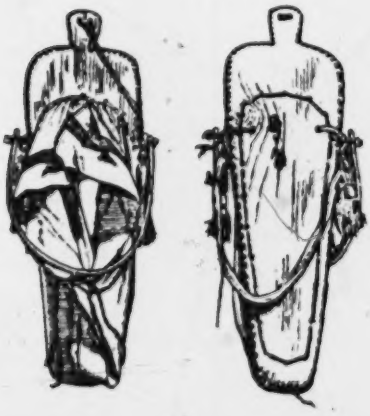

Fig. 19. Trapezoidal type of second cradle.

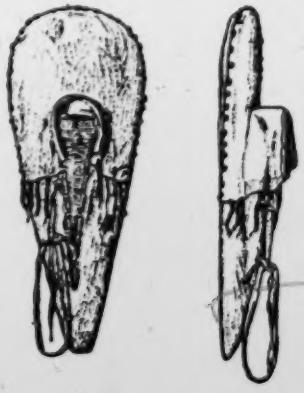

Fig. 20. Oval type of second cradle (from a model).

854 were sharp, but in a specimen seen in the field (Figure 19) they were somewhat rounded. Six holes, in pairs, were bored down each side of the cradle to receive the loops necessary to lace the bedded infant to the cradle if the board was to have no pouch attached (Figure 17,b). Three loops on each side were then formed of a cord (thong ?) which passed in and out of the pairs of holes, beginning from the under face of the board. A willow bark pad was tied between the uppermost pairs of loop holes to lie under the child's neck; a second similar pad was tied between the middle pairs of holes to rest under its knees (Figure 17, b,1,2). Baby and bedding were laced in by a buckskin thong passing through the three pairs of loops. This thong was permanently tied to the lower left loop (that is, on the baby's right side and was carried first to the opposite lower loop, thence to the left and right middle loops, thence to the upper left loop, and was finally tied at the upper right by a simple knot followed by a half-loop.

When a pouch was to be attached to the trapezoidal board a row of holes was bored around the periphery (to judge by the specimen shown in Figure 19; there being no other data). The pouch itself was evidently shaped much like that of the baby's first cradle.

In all trapezoidal boards a hole was bored in each upper corner to receive loops to which the tump line was attached. These loops were of tanned skin from the neck of a deer, which is tough; the tump line was bearskin, worn with the fur side next the carrier's head. The ends of the broad tump strap were brought through each loop, lapped back, and sewn with buckskin thongs. A shade bow was also provided to hold a covering away from the baby's face, so that it might at once allow plenty of air, yet keep off the flies. This arch was a green service berry or willow branch, trimmed to a half-inch thickness and fastened in the proper shape until it dried. It was tied to the tump line loops at each side and was of such a size as to stand ten inches above the baby's face. The arch was adjustable: it could be laid flat or raised as desired. When travelling the arch was held erect by two strings tied in grooves at the top of the arch; one end of each thong extended to a hole in the handle extension at the top of the board, the other to the middle lacing loops. A mattress just the length of the child was made for use with at least the pouched variety of this cradle, together with pillows for head and knees. These pillows were somewhat smaller (?) than those provided for the baby's first cradle.

854 531 [846] These boards were not decorated: "the board was so small that there was no room left for painting." Strings of dentalium shells were hung from the shade bow for the baby to play with. As in all other cradles, the baby's umbilical cord, tied in a buckskin, and sometimes a fool-hen's heart, were attached to one side of the cradle near the top.

•854 In more recent types of cradles the board was oval with a flattened base. As noted above, there were two different ways of providing a pouch for the baby: either the pouch was fastened to the face of the board well within its margin (a type derived from Moses-Columbia), or the board was entirely encased in a skin cover which fitted snugly except where it pouched to receive the infant (derived from the Nez Percé).

The oval board, in an example of the first mentioned variety made by Mary Carden, measured thirty-one inches in length, thirteen and a half inches in greatest width. A flattened base was provided so that the cradle could be stood on the ground leaning against some convenient upright. The board as a whole was not covered with skin, but a skin pouch (Figure 17, c,1) was fastened to it through a series of holes arranged in appropriate positions well within the margin of the board. In the specimen examined this pouch was twenty-three inches long by nine and a half broad, and conformed to the contour of the board. A strip of cloth (Figure 17, d,2) was sewn around the opening of the sack; at intervals three angular pieces had been clipped out by way of decoration. Two cloth pillows (Figure 17, c,3,4) were fastened in place within the sack. The carrying band or tump line was fastened to two holes (c, 5) on either side of the sack. The same holes also served for tying the ends of the shade bow, which could be held upright by cords to two holes at the top of the board (c, 6). A series of loops were provided on each side of the opening of the sack so that it might be laced up. The lacing thongs were two (d, 7, 8); one fastened to the uppermost loop on the right, the other to the lowest loop on the same side. To lace the infant in, these were put through successive loops to meet at the middle, where they could be tied together. The lower margin of the opening could be drawn up over its feet by a pucker-string (d, 9) which ran under the stitching; the ends of the pucker-string could be tied together. This string was permanently attached to the lowest loop on the right. By way of decoration twenty-two brass pins were set along the upper margin of the board (c, 10). Such boards were said also to be decorated with bead work, but probably the following variety was meant.

In the second or Nez Percé variety of the oval board (Figure 20) the buckskin covering was stretched tightly over the board, leaving an opening, that is, a pocket, to be laced as high as the breast of the child. A second piece of buckskin was cut to fit the upper part of the board (a dark cloth in the model illustrated) and sewn down smoothly, covering the seams in the piece underneath. A hood which stood out from the board a few inches beyond the baby's head, was made of two straight pieces of buckskin sewn together. The two thicknesses of skin were sufficiently stiff to stand out at right angles to the board. This was sewn around the upper edge of the opening of the pouch. A mattress just the length of the child and two smaller pillows were provided for this

cradle. The edges of the buckskin-covered board were decorated with a continuous line of dentalium or other shells if the family was wealthy: poor people embroidered the edges with porcupine quills. 854 [531]

There was nothing in the shape or decoration of any of these cradles to indicate the sex of the child.

A sack to hold the child at night, a sort of soft cradle (Figure 17,e), and the method of bedding the infant are described elsewhere.[18]

WEAPONS

Both self and sinew-backed bows were in use. The former was considered superior to the sinew-backed bow for distance shooting. We have no information as to which predominated in use. Both were four to five feet long; the sinew-backed bow perhaps the shorter. The self-bow was made of cedar, the sinew-backed of bluewood, dogwood, or maple.[1] The sinew-backed bow had recurving ends; the self-bow seems to have been a simple arc, but our information on this type is quite inadequate. It took considerable strength to pull either one.[20] 411

The self-bow was broad, flat on the inside, convex on the outside, narrower and thicker in the middle for convenience in grasping. For the sinew-backed bow the selected piece of wood was decorticated, split in half and the heartwood removed, except for a narrow strip which was said to prevent the bow from cracking when it dried. It was then dried for about four days, held by seven or more stakes driven into the ground to give it the proper shape. The flat side became the inner or string face of the weapon. Several layers of thin deer leg sinew were applied on the back or convex side of the bow to a thickness perhaps of a quarter inch. These were made to adhere by layers of glue obtained by boiling salmon skins. The sinew was pounded and twisted until it was loose and stringy, then extended on the bow to about four inches from the ends. Sometimes a rattlesnake skin was glued to the back of the bow if the owner had rattlesnake power. Cedar root was wrapped for six or seven inches about the middle and near each end, both for support and to prevent the glue from melting from the heat of the hand. The ends of the bow were so cut that the shoulder of the nock was at right angles to the median line of the bow; beyond this the tips were diamond-shaped. 237 322 411

Horn bows were known only by reference in tales. [321]

Bow-strings were made of deer leg sinew 000

18 See Individual Life Cycle.

1 [For footnotes, see p. 53(-), category 116. -- Analyst]

nōlōmE´lc	iron head
tExwista´skEt	walking in the sky (?)
slō´qExEn	moccasins no good (?)
ma'Eqē´n	big eddy
paɣūmtī´tsa	shining blanket
qwalɣunmītsa	something went dry around his blanket
ɣElEka´xn	twisting his arm(?)
hūntōɣsEnī´lhū	tipi door
tcīxa´xEliɣ	they've been driven
hicha´ca	don't know how
ntsEcpEckwa´ct	no name
xīlEka´ɣEn	round wing
nīrqō´ctsīn	spanning (as a rainbow, or a stick bent accross a creek)
kstilīa´ōt	still walking with arrows in his body (from kstīlīēōt)
cpaqEō´l[a]	two smokes
nɣē´tEmqEn	serrate head (like a saw)
chElxa´lt	daylight
cōqē´m	moonlight
sinōē´c	sunrise

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"Burning back" (nōlē´qin), a man's name, was given him by his brother because he lied so much. People say, when a liar approaches, "Here comes so and so to burn our backs." "Pitiful" (ampcūmp) was described as a good name; girls would be kind to a man so named. "Big buttocks" (cīl'qūīp) was a self-elected name, chosen not because the man's buttocks were big, but to commemorate a famous occasion in which a person so formed had figured.

Other men's names were said by informants to be meaningless: xwEsta´xn, s'aī'Eaī´, ōīa´pEkEn, kīnEmī´lx, qalawī´ɣa, k!lō´pakn, kwa·alExnī´tsa, ckī´ōc.

The literature on the Sinkaietk says little about names. Alexander Ross says that babies were named, years after birth, after some fancied resemblance in character to an animal, and that names were changed frequently.[2] Curtis' account, which is not specifically Okanagon, notes the use of the names of living and dead relatives, and the paying for and giving away of names.[3] Teit's account says that in form the names agree with those of the Thompson, and these are seen to differ in no marked way from those suggested by our Okanagon informants.[4]

553

CHILDHOOD

For the first year or so of his life the baby was carefully tended. He was wash-

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2 Ross, Alexander, Adventures, 325.
3 Curtis, North American Indian, VII, 75.
4 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 277.
5 See also Childbirth below.
6 See Adult Life below.

ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.' [1]

When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day.

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.' [1]

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

[1] [For footnote, see p. 107(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

ful. No explanations were current for abnormal presentations. 845

When the baby was born, the father was notified. He shot arrows, beat a dog, forced a horse to run hard, and performed other such acts in order to assure the safety of the child. This was also accomplished by stroking it down the middle of the forehead and along the nose with a skunk hair. For ten days he refrained from hunting for the reasons given above. If the child did not cry at once, cold water was thrown upon it. If it were stillborn, it was considered to have been choked to death, and was buried at once with no ceremony. 846

Abnormalities in the birth are explained by happenings previous to it. A caul is due to the mother's having eaten eggs. If the cord is wrapped about the throat of the child, it is because a horse was choked with the tie rope. Cecile says that most difficulties now are due to the difficulty in the expulsion of the after-birth, but that this did not happen in the old days. She blames it on the modern practice of lying down for the birth. If the birth was premature, a pit was dug to receive the child and keep it warm. Otherwise this was not done. 845

The after-birth is buried by the attendant, or the mother herself if she is alone, lest an animal eat it, for in that case she would have no more children. 844

After a precautionary wait of a few minutes the umbilical cord was cut to about four inches. If cut at once, the baby would "bleed inside" and die. The stump was tied with Indian hemp and covered with a piece of thin greased buckskin, which was held in place by a buckskin band around the baby's body. This was removed daily to allow for the sloughing off of the cord. When the stump finally dropped off, it was tied into a little buckskin sack which was fastened to the cradle.

The baby was then washed in warm water, but was not greased. Then, and every time subsequently that it was unwrapped and bathed, it was given a beauty massage: its nose and penis pulled or blown on to make them long, its limbs rubbed, its face massaged, its eyes pressed open, and the roof of the mouth pressed up. No reason was assigned for this. Suszen stated that a new-born child was immediately dipped in water "because God created the land from water." 846 854

It was suckled with the very first milk, none being thrown away. (Cecile stated, however, that the mother first waited over night.) Should the mother be unable to nurse her child, it was given to a wet nurse, who would have to be paid for her services, even if she were a close relative. The child was returned to its mother when it was wean- 853

845 mation of twins with the weather, with salmon, or with grizzly bears.

821 844 There was believed to be a connection between parturition and the weather. When a person died the weather of his birthday was supposed to occur again. The weather at the birth was connected with the character of the mother. If a cold wind storm blew, it was said that the mother was cranky, mean, and could not get along with someone. On the other hand, warm, fine weather was interpreted as meaning the mother was kind and agreeable. Again, it was said of a child born in bad weather that its mother must have a "good behind" (buttocks or genitals?), nxEcō´ps; of one born in good weather, that its mother must have a "bad behind," nqEcō´ps.

846 About ten days after the birth (some informants say more time was necessary) the mother left the lodge. She took a sweat bath one evening, another on the next, and was then ready to return to the dwelling house. Then she cooked and all the people came to a little feast she prepared. All the old people blessed her child.

● 854 Newborn Sinkaietk infants were carried in cradles with the board covered by a sack, and which had neither shade bow nor tump line. They were constructed before the child was born. These were carried horizontally, or nearly so. When the child was a few months old this was changed, without ceremony, for a board with a sack attached to it, in which the baby was wrapped. This would be carried on the mother's back, or suspended from the pommel of her saddle.[21]

During the day the baby now spent its entire time strapped in the cradle. This was carried on the mother's back by a tump line which was shifted from her forehead to breast as she wearied of one position or the other. When she wished to be free of the burden, she hung the cradle from a low bough out of reach of snakes on the ground. During the day a hammock might be used for the baby This was a long piece of skin slung between two trees. It was kept swinging by some small child so that the mother could go about her work.

There were characteristic ways of rocking a cradle: on the mother's back, or lying on her extended palms while her arms were crossed under it, or lying on the thighs as the woman sat with legs extended straight before her.

At night the baby was wrapped in the same fashion, but instead of being placed in a board cradle, it was put into a sack of soft coyote skin, fur side in. This was used summer and winter, as long as the baby was still carried on the cradle board. The sack was merely a roughly rectangular piece of skin the edges of which met in front,

21 For descriptions of the several types of cradles, see Material Culture.

854 where they were laced after the baby was in place (Figure 17,e). ½

855 The cradle was kept in continuous use until the child could walk. After that it served when long journeys were to be made.
[856] It was said that formerly infants learned to walk only at a later age than in these days of non-cradling, so it may be presumed that cradling retarded this ability.

854 For bedding the baby on the cradle two skin wrappings were used, always placed fur side in. One, serving as an outer blanket, was either a coyote skin or two jack rabbit skins sewed together. The other was a diaper; a single jack rabbit skin, or in warm weather, thin buckskin. This diaper was spread with shredded willow bark or dried cattail fluff. (The latter was, of course, picked in the fall and was stored in large sacks.) On this the baby was placed, one edge of the diaper brought across and between the legs to prevent chafing, and the opposite edge drawn quite across its body. Some women disposed of the soiled cattail fluff by storing it in a sack until it could be conveniently thrown away (?); others burned it.

The sanitary arrangements were the same for both first and second cradles. The penis of the boy was left outside the lacings; the inside of the girl's sack was kept dry by a piece of folded buckskin, drawn up from underneath, between her legs, and left hanging outside the lacings, hanging over the edge of the board at the end and at the sides. These pieces of buckskin were cleaned with clay as often as necessary. Sometimes the boy's cradle also had a buckskin outlet, of tubular form.

186 Most of the informants denied that
304 there was any intention of flattening the
854 head among the Sinkaietk. They knew that this was done by some of their neighbors, but they laughed at them for it, calling the Nez Percé and others pEpI'liakEn, "flatheads," on this account. They in turn laughed at the Sinkaietk for failing to do so. Mary Carden, however, described the process, which she said was a method of beautifying.

304 A flat stone or other hard substance
854 was put in position on the baby's head and bound (?) down with a broad strip of skin. Then the infant was wrapped in the outer blanket and laced in the cradle. The arms were left free during the day so that it might play with the dangling strings of dentalium shells.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord was sew-
854 ed up in buckskin and, with a sack containing the heart of a fool-hen, was fastened to the cradle covering near the child's head. The fool-hen's heart made the child well behaved and docile like the bird.

½ [For figure see p. 51 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 122 (B)

The baby was unwrapped every day and bathed, at first in warm, but as it grew older, in unheated water. (The heating of water sounds unaboriginal: Mary Carden stated that even tiny babies were bathed in cold water.) The wrappings were, however, rarely cleaned. Each time the infant was unwrapped it was given a beauty massage. Limbs, nose and eyelids were rubbed, the roof of the mouth was pressed with the thumb; all to the end that these features might be lengthened or otherwise beautified. The baby was also dusted with powder and its cradle filled with the dried and pounded stalks, flowers and leaves of aLsan-I'stEn, a sweet-smelling plant. (This had a stalk like a sunflower and small white flowers an inch and a half in diameter.) This assured the baby smelling sweetly, not only while thus perfumed, but all through life, and also made it grow healthy and strong.

When the child outgrew the cradle, it was carried to the hills, with the stump of the umbilical cord still attached, and hidden so that no one could find it, e.g., lodged between two trees.

A cradle might be used again for another child, however. A woman might borrow one which had belonged to a child of another family. When it was to be used again, the skins were cleaned with clay. A board belonging to a baby who had died had to be purified before it could be reused. It was filled with fir boughs or rose twigs which were changed every day for two weeks.

Teit's material on carriers mentions wrapping in soft furs, with the use of shredded bark for bedding. He describes drains of bark and wood, of which our informants knew nothing. The use of soft pillows and non-flattening of the head, which he reports, agree with our material."

When the child was able to walk the cradle was put aside to await the next child. If a journey longer than the child was able to take was to be made, it was carried on its mother's back in a sling supported across her chest. The child sat in this with its arms around its mother's neck, and its legs about her waist. The sling, which may have been but the common tump line, was a rope of Indian hemp having a broad central part some nine inches long on which the child sat. It was possible to carry a child and a pack at the same time with this device, the child being perched on the load.

ADULT LIFE

Sinkaietk life followed a routine in which the variations were chiefly seasonal. Men hunted and fished, gambled and fought. Women gathered vegetables and small animal food, did the work about the house and made the clothes and most of the utensils. All

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22 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 279.

526 lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit
778 was stronger than his own.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cīlīalE-wa'xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "Women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

[857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played in opposite corners.[15] Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. Although bark cradles were not used for infants by the Southern Okanagon, little girls sometimes made doll cradles which were small models of the bark cradles used by Thompson and Northern Okanagon.

[854]

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama'pēlēko woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (sūĒnūswaī'nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

15 See also Mary Cardon's account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).

p. 192(A)

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The social organization of the Columbia appears to have been similar to that which obtains among the Thompson and Okanagon. There are no traces of clans, secret societies, or hereditary nobility 601 565 575

CHIEFS

Chieftancy in some bands was hereditary, but most chiefs were such because of pre-eminence in wealth, war, and other things. Among the Moses-Columbia, men distinguished themselves formerly by stealing horses and killing enemies. They took scalps, and kept count of the number. They counted coup, and at dances related their deeds in war and how many persons they had struck, wounded, killed, or scalped. A man who had killed many enemies or a man who had become a great warrior and was known to be brave, was made a chief by the people. The man who had killed the greatest number was considered the greatest chief and became the head war-chief and leader of large war-expeditions. These customs are said to have been common to all the neighboring interior tribes. 622 554

SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in vogue in early times. Later it was supplemented or modified by the Plains sign language. The Chinook jargon came into common use after the arrival of the fur-traders. The Columbia Salish, being traders and travellers, were adepts in both. A number of them spoke languages like the Okanagon and Spokane, and some were more or less proficient in Yakima, Wallawalla, and Blackfoot. 198

BABY CARRIERS

Board carriers appear to have been in general use, and it seems that in some places bark carriers were employed as well, especially for very young infants. Carrier-bags, seemingly of the Thompson type, were used for children who had out-grown the board carriers. Navel-string pouches were in use, and conduits for male children. 854

HEAD DEFORMATION

It seems that people of some bands, especially the southern bands of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia, flattened infants' heads to a slight extent, a skin pad being used for the purpose. However, most of the Columbia did not intentionally flatten the head. 856

NAMES

Names among the Columbia were similar to those among both sexes of the Okanagon and Thompson, and the same name-suffixes were used. A number of men's names are the same in all three tribes, such as Kweē'tca 551

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
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Women's saddles had wooden sides and high straight pommels of antler or wood with wide, flat ends. Rawhide was shrunk over all, and they were often further covered with leather, which was cut into fringes around the ends of the pommels.[195] Sometimes, instead of cut fringes, a strip of dressed skin about 7 to 10 cm. wide, often covered with solid beadwork on the outside, depended from each pommel, reaching almost to the horse's back.[196] The ends of these bands were often fringed. Many women's saddles had a spike of wood or antler which projected forward and upward from the middle of the front pommel.[197] It was used, it seems, chiefly for suspending the baby carrier when traveling. Some saddles had short skirts of leather which were beaded or fringed along the edges. Stirrup leathers consisted of wide straps of heavy buckskins or elk skin, and stirrups were made of slats of wood bent into shape by heating when green. Generally buffalo or other skin was shrunk over them. (See *l*, fig. 12, p. 16.) Cruppers were used with many saddles. They consisted of wide pieces of skin fringed along the lower side, and beaded on the outside.[198] Collars or "horse necklaces" of similar material and design were also used a good deal, especially by women. As a rule, they were fringed and embroidered, and many had pendants that hung on the horse's chest. Saddle blankets consisted of pieces of woven matting below and pieces of buffalo or other skin in the hair on top. Some saddle blankets of leather, embroidered along the edges and having long corner ends, were also used.[199] Saddle covers of skin, used over the saddle for sitting on, were common. Sometimes light robes were used for this purpose.

[864]

Bridles consisted of ropes or braided or twisted horsehair or buffalo hair attached to the lower jaw. Many consisted merely of a strip of buffalo hide or other rawhide. Cinches were made of woven horsehair or of rawhide. Lariats, halter ropes, and stake ropes were made of horsehair, buffalo hair, or of leather braided or twisted; and others were merely long strips cut out of raw buffalo and other hide. Women used fringed hide bags[200] attached, usually one on each side, to the fronts and sometimes also to the backs of saddles. Saddlebags were fastened to the saddle behind. These crossed the back of the horse, and had a deep pocket on each side and very long fringes.[201] Things required during the day when traveling and odds and ends were carried in them. Quirts were like those in use among the Flathead, Thompson and other tribes. They had handles of antler or wood, and lashes of rawhide.[202] Although the horse and dog travois were

[195] *l*, fig. 17.
[196] *l*, fig. 2.
[197] *l*, figs. 2, 17.
[198] *l*, figs. 14, 15.
[199] *l*, fig. 18.
[200] See Thompson, *e*, fig. 151; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 220.
[201] *l*, fig. 19.
[202] *l*, figs. 23, 24.

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276 mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

843 844 TWINS.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed 845 that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.[297] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had [777] twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

854 CARRIERS OR CRADLES.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[298] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[299] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times

[297] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, *k*, p. 263.
[298] *a*, p. 306, fig. 250.
[299] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 225, 226.

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cradle boards were much lower or shorter than those of the present day, and some of them were provided with hoops. 854

The navel-string pouch and strings of beads and other ornaments were often attached to the carrier, especially at the head. Hammocks were often used for babies in the lodges. They were made of skin and suspended on two ropes passing through hollow seams. Cross sticks were placed between the ropes near the head and foot to keep the ropes sufficiently apart. When the baby became older and began to walk the board carrier was discarded and a carrying bag or skin carrier was used when the weather was mild. These carriers were similar to those used by the Thompson,[300] and the child's head, arms, and legs protruded. In cold weather the same carrier was used, but the mother folded the baby in the robe she wore. More often, however, the carrier was not used at all in very cold weather, the mother preferring to fasten the babies on her back in the folds of the robe only. The bark carrier, the board carrier, and the skin carrier 177
or baby bags have all been used together in the way described as far 854
back as tradition goes. In later times, after the tribe engaged in buffalo hunting, the bark carrier went out of use, because bark could not always be obtained when wanted and because this kind of carrier was usually too fragile. Baby bags were used to some extent until a much later date, but finally they went out of use also. This was probably because they were not necessary in horse travel. Finally board carriers of the high type which better protected the child's head, and the robe alone, were used in carrying young children. I did not learn definitely whether any conduits were used with cradles. The Nez Percé are said long ago to have used bark carriers like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for infants.

Head Deformation.—During the life of the child on the board 304
carrier (generally from two or three months old to about a year) its 854
head was fastened down with a pad of stiff skin attached by means of strings. The pad rested on the forehead. It was tightened when the child slept and slackened when it awoke. Male and female children were treated alike, and this practice was formerly universal in the tribe. It is said, however, that the intention was not to flatten the head but merely to keep the child's head in place and prevent its wiggling and thus hurting it, especially when the mother was carrying it. The strings were never pulled tighter than was necessary to accomplish this object. Some claim that the pad was tightened only a very little, or not used at all, when the baby was on the board in the lodge; but when the mother was traveling with the baby awake the pad was tightened a little; and when the baby slept, if she was still traveling, it was tightened more. The use of these pads, it is thought by some of the Indians, caused a slight flattening of the head behind,

[300] Ottawa Mus., Thompson specimens 147, 149, 150, 151.

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while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

WHIPPING ORDEAL.—It is said that a long time ago, when all the Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as was practiced by the Thompson [301] until recently.

PUBERTY.—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes. They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious, and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions, and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats, where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years. They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

[301] *a*, pp. 309, 310.

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844

one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.[1]

845

TWINS.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.[2]

854.

CARRIERS.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;[3] a second kind had an angular top;[4] and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.[5] Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.[6] Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped

[1] a, p. 304.
[2] a, pp. 310, 311.
[3] See Thompson, c, fig. 251; Shuswap, c, fig. 251 a.
[4] See Shuswap, c, fig. 251 b, d.
[5] See Thompson, c, fig. 251 b.
[6] See Thompson, c, fig. 251.

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●854 in soft robes of fawn skin, rabbit skin, lynx skin, etc. Bedding consisted of shredded bark, grass, and occasionally down of plants. Among the Sanpoil the bedding for bark carriers consisted generally of bulrush down or duck's down; but dry grass and finely teased bark were sometimes used. The Similkameen, Lake, and Colville claim that they used only boards; no bark carriers. The Okanagon say that they have always used board carriers, but that long ago a few families also used bark carriers for very young infants. These were simply beds used in the lodge, and not for carrying purposes. When the child had to be carried a board was used. The Nespelim and Sanpoil say that very long ago bark carriers were used entirely, or almost entirely, by them. The shapes of these were similar to the forms of bark carriers of the Thompson. The most ancient kind were very deep and had no lacings and hoops. The baby was fastened in with a long band of dressed skin, or sometimes a rope, which was lashed round the carrier. A few had large loops on the sides, through which the lashing passed, as in some board carriers;[7] but this is thought to be more modern than the simple lashing around the outside of the carrier. Later, shallow bark carriers with hoops were often used. The deep carriers did not require hoops. About six or seven generations ago boards came into use and within a short time became quite common. The first kind adopted consisted of a simple board, in most cases reaching to the neck of the infant. The child, wrapped in a fur robe which came over its head, was strapped on the board by a lashing round and round, as in the oldest bark carriers. Later it became common to fasten flaps of skin to the sides of the board, which laced in front over the infant. Infants were also placed in skin bags and lashed to the board. Later the backs of these bags were frequently stitched to the board, and thus became a permanent attachment of the latter. The front of the bag was fastened with a lacing. Still later, hoops came into use to spread the hood of the bag or to hold the carrier covering—a small, light robe or a skin—off the child's face. This top covering was used to shade the child's face when it slept, to cover it when mosquitoes and flies were abundant, and to protect it against cold and wind when traveling. For a long

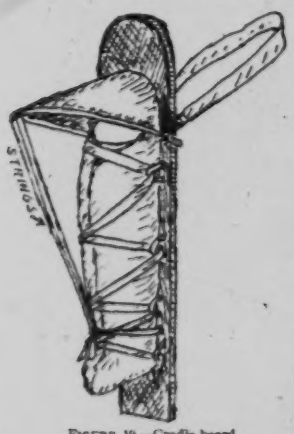

FIGURE 19.—Cradle board

[7] See Thompson, a, p. 307, fig. 281.

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.[8] A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head.

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

Head Deformation.—No head flattening was practiced, but some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers.

Fostering of Children.—Fostering of children was quite common. People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents.

Education.—Much attention was paid to the education of children. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the

[8] Ottawa Museum, Nos. 147, 149-151.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

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TWINS.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs.

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BABY CARRIERS.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wicker-work were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use.

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HEAD DEFORMATION.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly.

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head.

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1886, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier.

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